

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 MANILA 03676 01 OF 02 140651Z

ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ONY-00 /010 W

-----140656Z 019967 /14

P 170444Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY MANILA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7051

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MANILA 3676

STADIS////////////////////////////////////

EA ONLY

EYES ONLY ASST SEC HOLBROOKE FROM SULLIVAN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, RP

SUBJECT: CONCERN ABOUT PRM AND UNDERHILL CABLES

REF: STATE 054236

1. THANKS FOR YOUR MESSAGE ADDRESSING MATTERS OF "TWO-WAY CONCERN." I WELCOME CANDID EXCHANGES OF THIS TYPE AND HOPE THEY CAN BE CONTINUED.

2. FIRST, ON THE UNDERHILL STORY, I HAVE NO PARTICULAR CONCERN. YOU WILL HAVE NOTED THAT I DID NOT RPT NOT REBUT FRANK'S ORIGINAL CABLE BECAUSE I FELT IT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED DURING THE PRM REVIEW ON ITS OWN MERITS. MOREOVER, FRANK PRIVATELY LET ME KNOW THAT HE HAD DISCUSSED THE SENSE OF IT WITH YOU IN TOKYO AND YOU HAD INVITED HIM TO SUBMIT IT. IT WAS NOT, INCIDENTALLY, THE DIPLOMAT WHO WAS QUOTED BY THE WALL STREET JOURNAL TO THE EFFECT THAT IS WAS "VERY BAD FORM FOR AN AMBASSADOR IN ONE COUNTRY TO TALK ABOUT ISSUES IN ANOTHER COUNTRY." I WAS, INSTEAD "ANOTHER DENIOUR DIPLOMAT" WHO SAID "MR.

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UNDERHILL WAS PLAYING A USEFUL GADFLY ROLE." THAT IS STILL THE WAY I FEEL ABOUT IT AND I HOPE THE PUBLICITY THAT ATTACHED TO THIS EPISODE WILL NOT SUBLIMATE FURURE SPONTANEOUS AND UNORTHODOX DISCUSSIONS ON "UNTHINKABLE" ISSUES. I HAVE BEEN CONSISTENTLY GUILTY OF SUCH PROVOCATIONS EVER SINCE I FIRST BECAME AN AMBASSADOR IN 1964.

3. AS FOR THE IDENTITY OF THE PERSON OR PERSONS WHO GAVE OUT THE CABLE AND THE MOTIVATIONS FOR THAT ACTION, I HAVE VERY FEW CLUES. I ONLY KNOW THAT THE THREE WALL STREET JOURNAL TYPES WHO CAME TO SEE ME ARE BASED IN HONG KONG, BUT LED ME TO BELIEVE THAT THE CABLE HAD BEEN MADE AVAILABLE TO THE JOURNAL IN WASHINGTON. YOU WILL RECALL THAT FRANK, IN HIS ORIGINAL TEXT, MORE OR LESS INVITED ITS PUBLICATION. I HAVE THEREFORE ASSUMED THAT IT WAS GIVEN OUT BY SOMEONE WHO AGREED WITH FRANK THAT ITS PUBLIC DISCUSSION WOULD BE HEALTHY. IN FACT, AS A SKEPTICAL OLD MAN, I HAD ASSUMED IT WAS EITHER YOU OR LES GELB WHO HAD PUT IT OUT, POSSIBLY WITH SANCTION FROM HIGHER AUTHORITY. MEA CULPA IF I AM WRONG; BUT NEVER DOUBT THE DEPTHS OF MY CYNICISM.

4. ON THE PRM ISSUE, PLEASE DON'T MISUNDERSTAND OUR INTERESTS HERE. THERE IS WIDESPREAD FEELING AMONG SENIOR OFFICERS IN THIS EMBASSY THAT WE ARE NOT RPT NOT KEPT ADEQUATELY IN THE WASHINGTON PICTURE BY THE PHILIPPINE DESK. SINCE I KNEW THAT, UNDER HENRY, INFORMAL COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE FIELD WAS VERBOTEN, I HAVE REFRAINED FROM CALLING THAT CONCERN TO THE ATTENTION OF THE DESK OFFICERS. HOWEVER, UNDER THE NEW SPIRIT, WE EXPECT MORE OPEN COMMUNICATION AND THE EMBASSY MESSAGE TO THE DESK WAS MERELY AN EFFORT TO JOG BEN FLECK INTO THE HABIT OF THINKING ABOUT OUR INTERESTS MORE CONSISTENTLY AND MORE POSITIVELY. WHEN I WAS A DESK OFFICER, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN STANDARD PROCEDURE TO SEND THE PRM MATERIAL TO THE  
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FIELD AUTOMATICALLY. IT IS THIS SORT OF HABIT WE SEEK TO RESTORE.

5. IN THE EVENT, WHAT WE RECEIVED FROM DEFENSE WAS THE TEXT OF THE BRESZINSKI MEMO LAYING OUT THE SCOPE OF THE PRM AND A WORKING PAPER FROM THE DOD/ISA CHAIRED GROUP PRESENTING THE OUTLINE OF THE WAY IN WHICH THE GROUP PROPOSED TO REPLY. IT WOULD HAVE BEEN NICE HAD THE DESK THOUGHT TO SEND THAT TO US BECAUSE IT WOULD HAVE SHOWN THAT THEY WERE ALERT TO OUR INTERESTS. WE HAVE NOT RPT NOT SEEN ANY OF THE VARIOUS DRAFTS AND I WOULD NOT RPT NOT HAVE EXPECTED TO BE KEPT CURRENT IN SUCH MINUTE DETAIL. I NEVER DOUBTED THAT MY VIEWS HAVE RECEIVED A HEARING, ALTHOUGH I DO NOT YET KNOW HOW THEY FARED IN THE PRM PROCESS.

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ONY-00 /010 W

-----140700Z 019996 /17

P 170444Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY MANILA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7052

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MANILA 3676

STADIS////////////////////////////////////

EA ONLY

EYES ONLY ASST SEC HOLBROOKE FROM SULLIVAN

6. NOW THAT THE "FIRST PHASE" OF THE PRM IS DONE, I WOULD, HOWEVER, HOPE TO HAVE A COPY OF IT SOONEST AND BE ABLE TO COMMENT ON IT. I WOULD ALSO HOPE TO HAVE AN INPUT INTO THE RECOMMENDATIONS ON POLICY. IN FACT, WHEN SUCH FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS AS THIS ARE UNDER DISCUSSION, I WOULD HAVE THOUGHT THAT IT WOULD BE NORMAL AND ROUTINE PRACTICE FOR THE AMBASSADOR TO BE CALLED BACK FOR CONSULTATIONS. I CAN REALIZE THAT, IF MY DEPARTURE FROM MANILA IS INDEED IMMINENT, THIS MIGHT BE CONSIDERED IRRELEVANT; BUT WITH ALL MODESTY, I DO BELIEVE I HAVE A MORE INTIMATE INSIGHT INTO THE ISSUES THAN ANYONE IN THE WORKING GROUP AND MIGHT HAVE A USEFUL CONTRIBUTION BEFORE POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS GET SET IN CONCRETE.

7. AS FOR THE TIMING OF THOSE RECOMMENDATIONS, I FULLY AGREE WITH YOU AND TONY LAKE THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO TAKE THE FUNDAMENTAL DECISIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR LARGER POLICY DECISIONS ON ASIA. HAVING SAID THAT, IT IS NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR TO ME WHAT SORT OF TIME PERIOD THAT ENTAILS. I THINK, AS I HAVE WRITTEN YOU EARLIER, THAT WE HAVE SOME TIME AS FAR AS OUR DECISIONS AFFECTING THE GOP

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ARE CONCERNED. YOUR TESTIMONY BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE WENT DOWN WELL HERE AND SHOULD HOLD THINGS FOR A WHILE. IF THE LIBYAN CAPER GOES AS BADLY AS I FEAR IT WILL, GOP

ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE U.S. ALLIANCE AND U.S. BASES MAY MATERIALLY IMPROVE OVER THE NEXT FEW MONTHS AND WE COULD RESUME BASE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE UP-BEAT.

8. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF YOU ARE THINKING IN TERMS OF ANOTHER YEAR OR SO, THAT MAY BE A LITTLE LONGER THAN THE LOCAL SITUATION WILL BEAR. IN MY OWN VIEW, THE ESSENTIAL STRATEGIC DECISIONS WITH RESPECT TO U.S. BASES IN THE PHILIPPINES ARE RELATIVELY SIMPLE TO MAKE. THE MORE COMPLEX AND PERHAPS THE MORE EMOTIONAL (BECAUSE OF ENTRENCHED BUREAUCRATIC PREJUDICES AND TRADITIONS) DECISIONS ARE THE TACTICAL ONES SUCH AS THE NEED TO DECIDE THAT WE MUST, AFTER ALL, PAY "RENT" AS "RENT" AND THAT WE WOULD BE WELL ADVISED TO TERMINATE OUR MAP PROGRAM HERE AND DISESTABLISH OUR MAAG. THOSE ARE THE SORTS OF DECISIONS ON WHICH I WISH TO BE ABLE TO MAKE AN INPUT AND WHICH I HOPE YOU WILL CONTINUE TO SHARE WITH ME.

9. KEEP UP THE GOOD WORK AND WARM REGARDS.

10. PLEASE NOTE EA ONLY CAPTION.  
SULLIVAN

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## Message Attributes

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